1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

62. A family's *padi pun* may never be sold or given away, and to it there are attached a series of ritual prohibitions, or *pemali*. In many cases, for example, it is taboo to enter a farm after having previously (i.e. on the same day) touched or eaten pork. To break such a *pemali* is to offend the *padi* spirits, and run the risk of their being frightened away; offenders are heavily penalized, the fine exacted from them laid at the foot of the growing *padi*, a cock sacrificed in expiation, and prayers of atonement uttered. These *pemali* apply to all the members of a long-house and to strangers as well; ignorance of their nature affords no excuse, and, although transgression may have been entirely inadvertent, the penalties still operate. Every *bilek* family has its own particular set of prohibitions; often they may be ten or more in number, and there is wide variation from family to family. In carrying out my field research it was always necessary to ascertain well in advance the *pemali* of any farm which I proposed visiting, and then to modify my diet and behaviour in the manner required.

63. I was made aware of the extraordinary strength of Iban belief in their *padi* cult a few months after my arrival in the Sut. I had brought with me the equipment necessary to carry out a simple plane-table survey, so that accurate measurements of farm land could be obtained. In the course of a discussion with a specially arranged meeting of senior members of the long-house, I put forward my research proposals. In general they were acceded to with alacrity (and throughout the whole of my period of research I was accorded remarkable co-operation and helpfulness), but to the suggestion that I should survey farm land, there was immediate and hostile opposition. It was said that once before a survey party had visited the Baleh, and that in ensuing years, there had been disastrously bad harvests; the *padi* spirits, disturbed by the brusque ways of the surveyors, had taken offence and fled. From the emotion which accompanied its expression, it was clear that this was a fervently held opinion, but accurate survey was an important part of my work and I had gone to considerable trouble in bringing equipment all the way from England; I at once set about doing all I could to combat the idea that it was harmful. I employed arguments of many kinds. My research, I said, was aimed at helping the Iban, at finding ways to improve their crops; in other parts of Sarawak most bountiful harvests had followed extensive surveying; they were mistaken in thinking that the *padi* spirits, who belonged to the Iban, could take offence at the actions of a European, whose *adat* was entirely different, but I would be glad to perform sacrificial rites before embarking on my work, and I would observe all other *pemali* with scrupulous care. But my audience was adamant. By this time the discussion had been going on for about two hours, and realizing that further attempts at persuasion would be futile, I resorted to sterner arguments. My research, I reiterated, was intended to help the Iban, they must trust the Government; Government knew best in saying that their land should be surveyed. But this slight threat of coercion provoked a fierce reaction. His eyes flaming and his voice suffused with emotion, Nyala—the *tuai rumah*—averred that the Government could shoot them and burn down their long-houses, but they would not submit to having their *padi* farms surveyed. The others present sprang to his support, and for several minutes there was a babble of disturbed voices. If I were not to jeopardize the whole of my research, retreat was imperative; I was compelled to disavow my plans, and apologize for my effrontery.[1]

[1] It is interesting to note that Izikowitz encountered similar difficulties when doing field research among the Lamet (of French Indo-China), who practice shifting cultivation, and have a *padi* cult closely resembling that of the Iban. He describes how he attempted to map farm land, but the Lamet were very suspicious, and when he was setting up a pole to use as a measuring point in triangulation, there were loud protests that harm would result to "the

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

64. On subsequent occasions I tried, by more devious methods, to persuade individual Iban to let me survey their farms—but without success. I discovered however, that it was the surveyor's chain to which most objection was taken. By using a prismatic compass and a measuring line of fine twine, I did manage to make hurried and surreptitious surveys of several farms (*umai*), but finding myself under suspicion, I was obliged to abandon even this. Finally I resorted to pacing—with as nonchalant an air as I could command—and sights taken from the shelter of friendly stumps. Despite this ban on surveying, I was permitted to visit most of the farms of Rumah Nyala whenever I chose (provided, of course, that I obeyed the various *pemali*), and when it was found that I was seriously interested in Iban methods, I was invited to many more *padi* rituals than I had time to attend. It is when the *padi* is being sown, and during the early stages of growth that ritual prohibitions are at their most stringent, and during these periods two *bilek* families would not allow me to set foot on their farms; but in these cases, the prohibition (*pemali ngendik tegalan*) also applied to most of the other members of the long-house. Later in the year these restrictions were relaxed however, so that in course of time I was able to make repeated and detailed inspections of all farms. As will be seen later, repeated visits were always necessary, first to plot the area of jungle felled, and then to mark in the actual extent of the *padi* crop. In the course of successive visits I was able to compile a series of sketch maps. In almost all cases these maps were based on a series of measurements—by pacing—of the major dimensions of a farm, and then, the sketching in of its outline and other principal features, from several different vantage points (i.e. adjacent spurs and ridges). This method was aided by the fact that the boundaries of Iban farm plots are always very plainly demarcated against the surrounding jungle from which they have been cleared. In only two instances was it possible to make more elaborate surveys, and both were clandestine operations, undertaken soon after reaping had been completed. In general then, my data on farm acreages are based on sketch maps and careful estimates, not (as I had planned) on detailed plane-table surveys. In passing it may be noted that the survey of Iban hill farms is no easy task. Very often they are situated on extremely steep slopes (i.e. 35°—40°), broken by confined and precipitous gullies and cluttered with massive accumulations of fallen timber.

243 123 784 126

65. One of my leading reasons for selecting Rumah Nyala as the centre of my research was that all of its farms could be reached directly, and on foot, from the main long-house. For the Baleh region this is an unusual state of affairs. As already explained, each *bilek* family operates as an independent unit, and commonly the farms of a long-house community are scattered up and down the banks, and tucked away in the side streams, of a section of river from three to four miles in length. More often than not the river is broken by rapids and shoals which inhibit travel unless a well-manned canoe be available, and this is very difficult to come by when the Iban are living on their farms and pre-occupied with their *padi*. The farms of Rumah Koh, in the Ulu Baleh, for example, are strung out over several miles of river, and some of them are distant five or more

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owners as well as the soul of the rice." Izikowitz continued his survey, using a lance instead of a pole—the spirits (so it was said) being afraid of the point of the lance; but within a few days the owner of the land did fall ill, and Izikowitz was absolutely forbidden to continue with his mapping. (Izikowitz, "Lamet," 1951, p. 282).

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A Government surveyor, by exerting sufficient pressure, might possibly get his way, but an anthropologist could not afford to do this, for the success of his work depends on the maintenance of goodwill among the people he is living with and studying.

1: Freeman B 5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

areas where it has all been felled, the inhabitants find themselves in something of a plight, and long journeys have to be made to secure essential materials. Again, proximity to *kampong* ensures good and varied supplies of food—relishes to enliven the monotony of rice—for in the rain forest there are many opportunities for the hunter, and the streams are well stocked with fish.

The Krukoh Method

268. In the ordinary course of events the magico-religious rites that precede the felling of virgin jungle are performed in May or early June, and thereafter the cycle of cultivation follows the course already described. By the time reaping is completed, in the following March or April, regeneration of the forest has begun—young plants are springing up amid the *padi* stubble (*ierami*), and in the places least affected by the burn there is vigorous coppice growth. By July, a dense, though still diminutive scrub has established itself, and the farm has reached the *krukoh* stage.

269. When pioneering virgin territory it is normal Iban practice to slash this *krukoh* scrub in late July or early August, and after it has been fired, to sow the land once more with *padi*—that is, for a second year in succession. To farm in this way is to *ngrukoh*, or to *bekrukoh*, and for the Iban it is the generally accepted mode of procedure when virgin jungle is being worked. In all the pioneer areas visited by me, *krukoh* farming was an established practice. The Iban themselves look upon it as completely normal, legitimate and economic; and from their testimony (I discussed this matter with scores of different informants), it is clear that *krukoh* farming has been a customary method of land usage for very many years. We need not be surprised at this state of affairs, for the practice of taking two or three consecutive crops from forest land has been reported from many other parts of South-East Asia.[1] Indeed it seems to be the prevalent system among shifting cultivators who have ample reserves of forest land at their disposal.

270. Among the Iban it does sometimes happen that the whole of a *kampong* farm is cultivated for two years in succession, but the much more common system is to re-plant only about one-half to two-thirds of the old farm, and to make up the desired acreage by felling a further area of virgin forest. All of the *bilek* families whose farms contained a substantial proportion of virgin jungle in 1949-50, adopted this method. Iban social organization being what it is, there are in this system of gradual advance certain definite advantages. The *bilek* family, which is the basic unit in Iban agriculture, is restricted in numbers, and many *bilek* families have only one male in their labour team. This means that for many families the task of felling three or four acres of virgin jungle is a formidable one, and difficult to maintain year after year. If, however, an initial area of say three acres is felled, and about half of it cultivated for two years in succession, then the family concerned has only to clear one to two acres of new jungle to bring its farm up to the required size By adopting this method a *bilek* family is able to farm well within its labour resources, and—at the same time—steadily to increase its land holdings.

271. A further advantage of this twofold system (from the Iban point of view) is that it lessens the chance of adverse weather interfering with the all-important

[1]For example, the cultivation of hill *padi* for two or more consecutive years has been reported in Malaya ("Padi Planting Methods in Malaya," M. A. J., Vol. 27, 1939, p. 58), in Sumatra (Danbol, 1940, p. 29) in the Philippines (Copeland, 1924, p. 22) and in Southern India (Ramiah, 1937, p. 12 and Furer-Haimendorf, 1945, p. 78 seq.).

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837 Though virtue before marriage is thus little respected,
684 faithlessness after the marriage feast has taken place is a grave and serious offence in which the whole village is concerned. I believe it is punished by fine, but the offence is of such rare occurrence that no person to my knowledge ever incurred the penalty. The
836 license granted to the young women appears amongst these people only to extend to their own nation, but it is probable, and in fact certain, in some tribes, that their favours are liberally extended to the Malays, should any happen to reside in their vicinity. This laxity of manners has been carried so far, that I have been assured that should a chief, or distinguished warrior of another tribe, travelling through the country, rest for a night at a village, it is a necessary part of their hospitality to provide a girl for his companion; but my information on this particular is derived from
[171] the Malays. I, however, think it correct, as a similar custom is always followed by the Kyans.

581 The promiscuous intercourse between the unmar-
842 ried of the two sexes above described is a curious institution, and not known to the hill tribes. From the father of a child being compelled to marry its mother, and from their never being known to have any reluctance to do so, it would appear to have been originally practised as a precautionary measure arising from their fear of not becoming the fathers of families, which the Dyak would consider the greatest possible misfortune, though, from the facility with which they

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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can separate, but which they seldom avail themselves of, such a practice would not seem necessary. All the Dyaks are exceedingly fond of their children, and proud of their families in proportion to the number of them. The curious practice of sinking their own name on the birth of the first child, and being afterwards denominated by its name with the prefix of the particle Pa, is strongly illustrative of their family pride. The Pa placed before the name of the child is a contraction of the word bapa, and gives a stranger immediately to understand that Pa Such-an-one is the father of children. Thus the chief of the land Dyaks, who is, or was, named Nimūk, is called Pa Jaguen, Jaguen being the name of his eldest child. This curious custom is also mentioned by Mr. Marsden as being prevalent among the inland tribes of Sumatra. The term Ma, a contraction of the word ama, is mother, and is also occasionally used as a polite method of designating the mother of a family; but they are always called in the village by their own names. It may be observed of this custom, that, should the eldest child be dead, or lost, having become a slave to the enemies of the tribe, the parent is called after the next surviving one, or the next in seniority which remains with him. Thus Pa Jaguen was called Pa Belal until his daughter Jaguen was restored to him from Sakarran slavery by the assistance of the Rajah of Sarawak. I have had frequent proofs of the love they bear their children, and the longing with which they desire the

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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saved the trophies of the prowess of his fathers. It is said that the practice of head-hunting, for which purpose alone their piratical expeditions are now undertaken, has been carried so far, that a Dyak cannot marry until he has at least once obtained a head. The chief of the Lundu village told me that such was the custom, but that in his tribe it had been dispensed with, as the difficulty of getting heads was so great under Mr. Brooke's government, the wars being unfrequent, and cruising parties not being allowed to go out. The old gentleman seemed to think it a pity that a custom so calculated to inspire the men with courage should be set aside from motives of humanity, and is decidedly of opinion that "none but the brave deserve the fair."

On one occasion Lingir, a chief of one of the Sarebas tribes, appeared at Sarawak with his head shaved, and in his most desolate and ragged attire, but attended by thirty-three boats, to request permission of the rajah to attack the Dyaks of Lundu or Samarhand; he gave as a reason for the strange request, that his brother had died, and that he could not celebrate his funeral until he had somewhere obtained a head. This resembles the custom of those nations who sacrificed their slaves on the funeral pile of their deceased masters; and it is said that in the countries of the Kyans, which bounds that of the Sarebas Dyaks on the south and east, this custom of sacrificing slaves is still prevalent on the death of a chief. From

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the skill and patience with which he was accomplishing the task without substantial alteration, and generally without changing the writer's words. The present paper, the first instalment of the whole, shows Mr. Low's skill both as an anthropologist and as a philologist, whose linguistic studies in the Dyak region, which from his official position in Sarawak he knew intimately, add largely to our knowledge of a group of languages as yet but scantily known. Among the topics to which Dr. Tylor wished to call special attention, are the remarks on the relation of dreams to the idea of soul or spirit, a fundamental doctrine of the animistic scheme of religion. No illustration could be stronger than that of the Dyak, who, having dreamt that he fell into the water, attributes this to his shadow-soul having really fallen into the water, and proceeds, by the aid of the spirit-doctor, to recover it, and get it restored to him. In the description of omens, the animistic reason for animals giving intelligence by omens is supplied where it is mentioned that such spirits of birds are considered to be really transmigrated ancestors come to warn the Dyaks of danger. This throws an important light on what we call ill-omened birds and other creatures, who from this point of view are not vexatious, but come as friends to save their friends from harm. It appears that the Dyaks share with the Kafirs of South Africa the delusion that the lengths of shadows vary, portending good or ill. Among other doctrines familiar to students of the lower culture, here well illustrated, may be observed the taboo, here known as mali (given by St. John in the form *pamali*) [illegible]otem-animal, whose flesh may not be eaten; the tree-spirit, complaining or objecting to its tree being felled; the accounting for bad weather by the anger of the spirits at marriage-customs having been violated, &c. Care must, however, be taken not to overlook the effects of foreign civilized influence on the ideas of these rude people. The mystic number seven, as in the doctrine of the seven spirits, must be due to Hindu or Moslem influence; as also the worship of the deity called here the Great Spirit, whose name, probably showing in which of these two cultured religions he originated, will, no doubt, be specified in papers to come later on before the Institute.

Dr. Codrington said that very much of what had been read, especially in the first part, corresponded closely with what had been observed in Melanesia. Without referring to general resemblance or identity, three words had struck him as remarkable: 1. *Antu*, no doubt the Polynesian *atua*, a spiritual being or demon; 2. *Manang*, probably the *mana*, by which all magic and doctoring is worked in Melanesia; 3. *Tapu*. (This last, however, was introduced in the paper, not as a native word, but as generally understood.)

Sir Hugh Low said:—In reference to the points in this paper in which Dr. Codrington has remarked similarity to the customs of the natives of the Islands of Polynesia, I should like to mention that, although it is now more than forty years since I had the opportunity

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787 of travelling among the Dyaks of Western Borneo, to whom the notes left by my late son refers, I distinctly remember the importance attached to the omens derived from the flight of birds and the position from which the notes of birds and of various insects reached them. The omens also derived from the examination of the viscera of the pigs which are killed for the festivals held on all important occasions are most carefully observed, and no feast which I have attended was commenced until after a fowl had been killed, the blood mingled with rice stained yellow with turmeric, and thrown up towards heaven by the chief, who at the same time offered a prayer, the words of which were not understood by the people.

784 "Taboo" is much practised among the Dyaks. At the time of planting the seed in the padi fields, no stranger may enter there for several days. The public path frequently passes through them, but during the "taboo," or, as the Dyaks call it, "pamali," a detour must be made to avoid the forbidden enclosure. The [201] existence of the pamali is made known to everyone by dried palm leaves or small branches of bamboo or shrubs placed in a conspicuous position at all the entrances of the forbidden farm. The same practice is used when sickness is in the house, and for the preservation of fruit trees and of anything which it is desired should not be interfered with by the general public. If a Dyak is asked to do anything contrary to custom, he invariably answers, it is "pamali." These remarks refer more particularly to the Land ●[171] Dyaks of Western Borneo, but are, I believe, equally applicable to the Sea Dyaks, to whom my son's notes more particularly refer.

756 The *manang*, or medicine man, is of great influence in every tribe, and amongst the Sea Dyaks they have the curious custom of dressing as women, and in all their actions endeavouring to imitate the manners and customs of the female sex; even to the taking to themselves men who are called and pass among the people as their "husbands." The belief in magic is very pre- 000 valent among all the natives I have observed in Borneo and the Malay Peninsula, and it has even survived the introduction of the religion of Islam. The magic practices derived from the wild Sakie of the Peninsula are held in great esteem among the Malays of Perak, though discountenanced by the Mahommedan priests. Charms similar to those so widely used in Borneo are in use also among the even less cultivated Sakies and Semangs of the Malay States, and consist of the same articles, such as abnormal growths, nodules of plants, stones of unusual appearance, beads, teeth, and other articles. These often form a bundle of two or three pounds' weight, and on occasions of unusual importance, as in exploring an unknown district or ascending a high mountain, are suspended round the neck.

825 The tiger, though not an inhabitant of Borneo, is, as a mythical animal, held in great reverence by all the tribes—the largest cat in the island is that which is, I believe, called "Felix macrocelis," by Dutch authors, but I have heard that a skull of what was

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second *out*door slave of B, the *tabusan* to A being 60 reals or 1½ piculs, and that to B 40 reals or 1 picul.

Where the parent is free on one side, and the other parent either an *in* or *out*door slave, the first child follows the fortunes of the father, the second that of the mother, and so on in succession, and this rule is unalterable. For example, a claim was lately made upon a boy, whose father was an *out*door slave, and whose mother was a free woman. The boy was third of a family of five and both parents were dead. The owner of the late father claimed this the third child, but the friends of the boy said that before the father died he had declared that the second child should be slave, and that the third child should be free, the second child being also dead. The court decided that the father had no right to alter the succession, and decided in favour of the plaintiff.[1] In cases where both parents are originally slaves, and after children are born one parent frees him or herself, the children born after the event follow the above rule.

In cases where an *in*door slave, man or woman, has become an *out*door one upon marriage, and has sought his or her own living, the children, so far as he or she is concerned become *out*door slaves, but he or she is still liable to pay his or her full *tabusan* to the master, no reduction being made unless the slave has become aged.

The owners of *out*door slaves have a right to demand the services of one child to work as *in*door slave until marriage, when he or she quits the master's house and returns to his or her position as an *out*door slave; if a girl the master is on no account to receive *barian* (purchase-money) from the husband, and if a boy the master must provide *barian*, or at least assist in the matter for the reason that the boy has hitherto worked for his master and has had no opportunity of acquiring property for himself. The above rule is seldom enforced by the owners. The owner of an *in*door slave, if the slave be a man, is expected to provide *barian* when the slave marries, and in such a case he becomes co-heir in the slave's property at death; if the slave be a woman, the owner receives the *barian*, and is still co-heir in case of death. In this case the husband generally prefers to pay the *tabusan* and to make his wife free. In no case whatever may an *out*door slave become an *in*door one except in the case of a child for a time as above.

It having come to the notice of the courts that in certain cases masters exacted as much work from an *out*door slave as from an

[1] Among the Punans the law seems a little different, the sex being of consequence; thus there was the case of a freeman who had married an indoor slave and a son and daughter were born. The son is free, following the condition of the father, the daughter is bond, following the condition of the mother.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

a pair of the largest and best, costing £6. Occasionally two are worn on each arm, but this is considered bad taste and is discouraged. 301

The *tumpa* or bracelets worn alike by men and women are of three descriptions, and are called *tumpa gelang, tumpa bala,* and *tumpa unus* respectively. The first are of brass, the second of ivory and the last of plaited fibre. The two first consist of some sixty close-fitting rings commencing at the wrist and reaching half way up the arm; a few in the former are made to hang loose on the back of the hand and being engraved are styled *tengkelai.*

The *tumpa bala* or *tumpa godieng* as they are also called, have been adopted by the Sea Dyaks within the last few years from the Tetaks and Segans; they are now made in china and gold in Bornean Bazaars.

The *tumpa unus* are only worn by young people too poor to afford any other kind; they are merely rings of plaited gomuti palm fibre worn in heavy masses on the wrist.

Kongkong rekong signifies "collar for the throat." Necklaces of European beads are worn by the young of both sexes; the ends are furnished with tassels of minute beads or bats' fangs. They are worn loose round the throat, and button in front, the tassels resting on the chest. Lamanak lads are fond of a large gold button as well as the tassel, but this is not universal even among their own tribe. Frequently several necklaces are worn, especially by the women. These necklaces of beads seem to have superseded the more savage necklaces of human teeth, etc., which were the fashion a generation ago, and is one proof of the civilising influence of the European government. [177]

The *tinchian tunjok* are the rings worn on the fingers by both sexes. They are commonly made of brass, variously but rudely engraved, and are not soldered at the ends; other metals also are used but less frequently, such as copper, lead, tin. Gold and silver rings are procured from the Malays and used only by the tribes living in close proximity to them. Shell rings are less uncommon.

The *ngkrimoks* are hoops of cane worn immediately below the knee-joint, and covered with an infinity of diminutive brass rings. The hoops some eight or ten in number are strung together with coloured rattan to preserve a compact and regular appearance. The *ngkrimoks* are worn almost exclusively by tribes of Sakarang and Lamanak origin; the Ulu Ais and Ngkaris use the *unus* instead, and this consists of innumerable rings of plaited fibre worn in heavy masses, as many as 300 at a time upon each leg. The palm from which 301 171

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the fibre leg rings is made, is called *apieng* by the Dyaks and *limak* by the Kyans.

The female attire is very simple, consisting of a *bidang* or short petticoat when at home, and a *klambi* or jacket when out of doors. By way of ornament the women wear in addition to the finger rings, necklaces, and bracelets which have already been described, other ornaments peculiar to their sex, styled *balong*, *tusok penchieng*, *tina*, *ranghi*, *lumiet* or *tinchien*, *selong* and *gelang ghirieng*, all of which are described in due order.

The *bidang* is a short petticoat reaching from the waist to the knee, and is kept in its place by being folded over in front and tucked in on one side. It is manufactured from their own cotton fabric, which is first partially dyed and then worked into a variety of patterns to which the most fanciful names are given. The *bidang* worn in mourning is stained a deep indigo blue, and is called *kain baloi*. A lighter shade is worn out of mourning especially by the Ulu Ais, and is often adorned by them with small cowries or pearl buttons, and fringed with *grunongs* or little tinkling bells.

The *klambi* or jacket worn by the women is if anything larger than that worn by the men. The patterns are precisely the same but the texture is finer. The Saribas women wear besides a jacket dyed a ruddy brown with mangrove bark, with a square embroidery on the back, and a fringe of hawks' bells.

The *balong* is a chaplet of odoriferous berries worn by marriageable girls.

The *tusok pendieng* is a thin plate of embossed metal which is soldered to a small tube passing through a hole in the lobe of the ear; this tube is filled with a nut which screws into it, and keeps the tube from falling out.

The *tina* are slender hoops of crimsoned cane worn round the waist, and look like whalebone when coloured black, as they invariably are in mourning costume.

Rangki are the shell armlets already described under the name of *simpai lengan*. They are only worn upon especial occasions, and form part of the full dress of a woman of fashion. As they are far smaller in size, and not so well finished, they are less costly than those worn by the men. Some eight or nine however are worn upon each arm, the more the better in their opinion.

The *lumiet* is the *rawai* of the Malohs (Malaus) and is a much esteemed body ornament of the Sakarangs. It is composed of a series of cane hoops covered with an infinity of diminutive brass links. A few of the hoops are made larger

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304 and especially if they are regular and symmetrical. They are
[751] particularly proud of their vaccination marks if they show out well, and are equidistant apart. The women often prove the courage and endurance of the youngsters by placing a lighted ball of tinder on the arm, and letting it burn into the skin. The marks thus produced run along the forearm from the waist in a straight line, and are much valued by the young men as so many proofs of their power of endurance.

301 *Ear-holes.*—The rim of the ear is perforated from top to
304 bottom with sometimes as many as twenty holes to support the ear-rings commonly used by the men. The lobe of the ear is also pierced and enlarged to receive a pendant. These organs present a hideous appearance when the ornaments are laid aside, as they reveal in all their deformity the slits and sores, while to add to their uncomeliness the holes are plugged with
[513] bits of wood to keep them open. These ear-rings, especially the heavy shell ones, oblige a man to lie flat on his back when he is going to sleep, it being painful to rest on the sides of the face.

301 Kyans and others wear tiger cat teeth in the tips of their ears.
[171] The points of Dians (a native on the Rejang river) I observed turned upwards, which is not usual, and he said it was an old custom revived by a chief named Hang. The Uma Lesongs wear two such teeth in each ear, the upper one pointing upwards, the lower one downwards; those who are unable to procure the genuine article wear imitation ones carved out of horn or bone.

302 *Teeth filing and staining.*—The upper incisors of both sexes
304 are often filed into a single sharp point; a hole is bored through the centre of each and filled with brass. The enamel is scraped off with a rough stone, and the teeth are rubbed with leaves which stain them black. The lower incisors are ground down to half their natural size and blackened in the same fashion,
[147] but are neither pointed nor studded with metal. Caries is rare, and the natives seldom suffer from tooth-ache. The teeth are naturally beautifully white and regular, but it is the fashion to disfigure them in this manner as they approach the ages of puberty—boys do it when they begin to care to please the women. They dislike white teeth and consider them hideous. I once saw a Sakarang wearing over his natural teeth a thin brass plate (*lios*) cut to resemble a row of pointed teeth; this was worn over the upper incisors and hooked into the molars. I believe the boy picked up the notion from the Mentuaris or Malohs (Malaus), but I do not imagine it is common with his tribe as I never saw another with it either before or after.

304 *Circumcision.*—Circumcision is practised but it is not

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

396 stringy bark tree, chops a circle round it at its base, and another circle 7 or 8 feet from the ground; he then makes a longitudinal cut on each side, and strips off as much bark as is required. The ends are sewn up carefully and daubed up with clay, the sides being kept in position by cross-pieces.' The steering is performed with one or two greatly developed fixed paddles.

8. *Weapons and War-dress.*

411 The *slighi* is a wooden lance, the point of which is hardened in the fire. It is used as a missile and is hurled at the enemy. It is usually of ironwood (*bilian*), but palmwood javelin, especially *inbery* is also used. They are showered upon the enemy at the commencement of an engagement before the parties are close enough to use the spear, which never, or rarely leaves the hand.

Dart stems are made of the palm called *apieng*. The poisonous juice of *tasam* tree is used for their darts; it is dried over the fire until it becomes a hard paste, and is then softened with the juice of an *akar*, creeper.

The *sangkoh* is a long wooden shaft with a steel spear head. The shaft is usually of ironwood, with a spud of bone at its butt end. If it has no spud it is pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground. It is always held towards the point, rather than by the centre and over the right shoulder, the butt end up in the air, and the point towards the ground. The blade is of steel, and is 12 inches in length, and broad towards the point; the tang is not inserted in a slit in the wood, but is bound on to the stem with cane or brass wire, and is very firm. The spear is used at close quarters to thrust with, and is held in the right hand—the shield occupying the left. The shaft is occasionally carved, but more often plain. I have one in my collection with six or seven brass rings, indicating the number of warpaths made by its owner.

411 The *dukn*, or *parang pedang*, is the scimitar so much worn by the Malays, and differs only from it in being thicker and heavier.
● 171 It is formed after the pattern of a German cavalry sabre, and has a cross-handle of brass. The blade is two-edged at the point, so that it can be used for thrusting as well as cutting. The sheath is of some light wood, and is stained crimson with dragon's blood. The Undeys and Balaus in particular have their sheaths covered with silver work, and the hilt with silver. The hollow of the hilt is decorated with human hair, and the edge of the sheath is adorned with a row of the wing feathers of the hornbill. The Malays wear the sword with the edge upwards but the Dyaks wear it with the edge outwards.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

The *parang ñabur* seems to be the only really genuine Dyak weapon. The *parang pedang* they have copied from the Malays, and the *parang ilang* is altogether a Kyan weapon, and beyond their powers of imitation. The *ñabur* in ordinary use is a short curved sword with a bone handle. This style of sword is broadest at its points of curvature. It does not curve like a scimitar from the hilt, but is straight for some distance, and takes a sudden curve towards the end, and when the sword is long, as is one in my collection, it becomes top heavy and requires both hands to wield it effectually.

The *parang ilang* is the Kyan *malab* (*mandau* elsewhere), and is preferred to any other side arm by Malays as well as Dyaks. It is the ambition of every Dyak lad to be presented with one of these.

The Uma Bawangs are famous for their *parangs*, which they make out of their own iron ore.

The war costume consists of a basket-work hat called a *katapu* and a skin-jacket called a *gagong;* in lieu of the latter the *klambi taiah* (?) a quilted jacket is used. These form but poor defensive armour for the body; reliance is placed upon the shield.

The *katapu* or helmet in general use is a round skull cap of wicker work, with a rush lining and occasionally a skin covering, surmounted by either a metal plate or two of fanciful pattern or the scaly armour of the *tenggolieng.* The crown is decorated with the plumage of birds and the sides with tufts of human hair. The rim is bordered with scarlet flannel and embroidered with nassur shells.

The Kyans and Kiñahs wear on their headpieces the tail plumes of the helmeted hornbill—each plume signifying a dead enemy.

The *gagong* or war-jacket is a skin with a hole and slit in the neck of it to admit of the insertion of the warrior's head, the animal's face falling on his stomach, and its back hanging over his shoulders and reaching below the waist. This dress is by no means universal among the Dyaks, as suitable skins are not so easy to obtain. Goat skins are preferred by them to any other, being long haired at the shoulder, and black is preferred to white; bear skins and panther skins are also in use but more sparingly. The animal's face is usually covered with a metal plate, or a mother-of-pearl shell, to protect the pit of the stomach, and the back is decorated with bunches of hornbill feathers. The gagong is worn more for its warlike appearance than for any real protection it affords the wearer. It may possibly divert a wooden javelin, but it is no defence against the thrust of a spear. The Kiñahs wear the mandibles of the

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

Bucerotidae (hornbills) in pairs on the breast of their war-jackets of skin to record the number of persons they have killed with their own hands—one pair for each person killed.

The *klambi taiah* is the *boju tilam* of the Malays, and is a padded or quilted cotton jacket, for the most part sleeveless and collarless. The striped variety is the one most in request. It is thick enough to be able to protect the body from the blow of a wooden javelin, but is useless against a spear.

The *trabai klit klau*, or shield, is with its handle hollowed out of a single block of wood. Its form is oblong and convex with a ridge along its centre. It is held in the left hand well advanced before the body, and is not meant to receive the spear point but to divert the spear by a twist of the hand. It is often coloured with red ochre or painted some elaborate design or fantastic pattern. It is large enough for its purpose, but it is small compared with the shields manufactured by the Sibus and others. There are also seen in use among them wicker-work shields of plaited bamboo, corresponding to the wooden ones in length and size.

9. *Aggressive Warfare.*

Dyak warfare is far from despicable, although it is undisciplined, and when the command is assumed by a person of sufficient influence to enforce obedience, the force at his disposal becomes more formidable than it otherwise would be; but this is not so often the case now as it used formerly to be. In fighting, the warriors cluster round their chiefs and are indifferent to the fate of the others so long as the chiefs escape with life and limb. Similarly relatives cluster together, preferring to entrust their lives to the tender mercies of one another, rather than to a stranger; a relative would bestride his fallen kinsman and protect his body from mutilation, when a stranger might decline the combat and leave him to his fate. They carry away the dead and wounded when possible; the former they bury, but, if hurried, often so imperfectly that the enemy scent them out, dig them up and carry away the heads. When unable to carry away the dead, they have sometimes severed the head from the trunk and carried it away with them to bury in the forest, rather than let the treasure fall into the hands of the enemy.

It is customary to announce a coming war expedition for such and such a season at one of the great feasts, when the village is thronged with guests from the country far and near, and when there is sure to be an unusual gathering of powerful chiefs. The speaker, who must be a great chief, gives his reason, that

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

We now pass on to a brief consideration of the broader issues connected with the Iban cloths and begin with a quotation from Hose and McDougall (1, p. 244):

"We are inclined to suppose that the Ibans have copied many of their cloth-patterns from the Malays together with the crafts of dyeing and weaving. For their technique is similar to that of the Malays all over the peninsula, and the same is true of some of their designs. Only in this way, we think, can we account for their possession of these crafts, which are practised by but very few of the other inland peoples. The fact that plant derivatives predominate greatly over animals in their designs, whereas the reverse is true of almost all other tribes, bears out this supposition, for the Malays are forbidden by their religion to represent animal forms, and make use largely of plant forms."

We have quoted in full here and on p. 123 what has been written on the decorative art of the Iban (with the exception of tattooing) by Hose and McDougall in their authoritative book on Sarawak, but we venture to question some of their statements. It is true that the carvings and engravings of the male Iban show predominantly plant forms, and the textiles of the women depict predominantly animal forms. If the men were influenced by Muhammadan Malays, why were not the women? The Iban have not embraced Islam and there is no reason why their designs should be influenced by that religion, nor is there sufficient evidence that they have borrowed some of their designs from the Malays; what designs they have in common might as well be attributed to their supposed common ancestry. The vast majority of the decorative designs of the Iban are not only markedly different from those of other Bornean peoples but equally so from those of the Malay, and almost all are intimately connected with their environment, pursuits, or beliefs.

The technique of producing the pattern by tying up the warps before dyeing is used only in isolated cases in the Malay peninsula. Other resist methods are referred to later. The Iban loom is the simplest of the Indonesian looms and therefore is not likely to have been copied from the Malay type with its fixed frame, heddles, treadles and other refinements.

286 We have now to consider to what extent the Iban owed this part of their
• 171 culture to other peoples, or if there is any evidence to show that the technical methods employed and the majority of the actual patterns have developed within the period of time in which they may be considered to have been a separate people.

A comparison has been made by L. E. Start between the cloths from Sarawak and the technical construction and patterns of the cloths of the Chinese, Hindu, Malay, or other inhabitants of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, as well as those of Java, Sumatra and the nearer island groups of Oceania.

The method of weaving is mostly carried out by the Iban in the simplest possible way on the most primitive type of Indonesian loom, the *tumpoh*, for although a few Iban use a simple Malay loom, the *tenjak*, they usually produce only coarse work upon it and that apparently in very small amount. We have no example of this in our collection, nor is there one in the large series in the British Museum, or in the collections in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, or the Castle Museum, Norwich. The bulk of the Iban cloths and all the skilled weaving of the warp-dyed pattern cloths are done on the primitive *tumpoh*; this supports Ling Roth's argument that "if the Ibans had learnt [weaving] from the Malays I think we are more likely to have found among them an imperfect or degenerate form of loom, rather than a more primitive one than that used by the Malays" (1918, pp. 71, 72).

38 The patterned weaving in Europe and civilized Asia is based on employ-
286 ing coloured warp and weft threads, but this technique is lacking, or almost
171 so, in Indonesia. There is one method of making designs on cloths in Great Britain and Europe in which the warp is printed before weaving and "shadow" patterns are produced. Cretonnes, linens, and silks may have "shadow" patterns.

In one technique in Indonesia the pattern is entirely developed before the actual weaving takes place and it is accomplished by tie-dyeing of the warp. This under skilful hands affords beautiful and elaborate patterns and it has a peculiar charm.

There are various terms for this tying technique in Indonesia. According to Loeber (1903, p. 14) the Malay and Iban term *ikat* was first introduced into Europe by Prof. A. R. Hein (1890), who in 1901 turned it into a Dutch verb "ikatten". We suggest that the word "ikat" might be

adopted in English for the finished product and "to ikat" for the technical process. 386 286 171

The method of producing patterns by tying-up the warps before dyeing is not in general use among the peoples of the Malay peninsula nor of those of southern China. The only account we have been able to find of the use of a similar technique is that by L. Wray (1902), who says that it is carried on to a limited extent by a few Malay women at Sitiawan in Perak. The fabrics are made of silk which comes from China in a raw state and is treated locally before dyeing.

The ikat method is nearly always used by the Iban and is carried by them to a degree of great excellence, but it is not confined to them in Indonesia. Lamster (1929, p. 125) refers to the bold and effective ikat technique of the women of Sumba and Flores and to the delicately worked and beautifully tinted patterns of Roti, Savu, Timor, Alor and other islands. The art of ikat weaving is practised throughout nearly the whole of Indonesia. Two pieces of hempen cloth from Mindanao, Philippine Islands, in the Haddon collection in the Cambridge Museum also illustrate this technique.

The woof, and not the warp, is ikated on the silk fabrics of Palembang, south-east Sumatra, at Gresik in east Java, and in Bali. At Tenganan, a small mountain village in south Bali, and nowhere else in Indonesia, the warp and the woof are ikated, a very difficult technique that produces cloths, termed *kain gringsing*, of unequalled beauty; they are the most splendid and costly of Indonesian woven cotton fabrics. Their manufacture is associated with all kinds of precautionary regulations; it can be done only in secret and the girls or women must work naked. Formerly the cloth was dyed with the blood of a human victim: the blood of animals must not be used; now they employ the bark of the *kemiri* tree, *Aleurites triloba*, with shredded *Curcuma* (turmeric) stamped in water. On various important occasions a person (or a young couple) is engirdled with a *kain gringsing*, and one wrapped round a sick person ensures recovery. The designs are mainly plant motives. (Lamster, 1929, p. 126; Wirz, 1931.)

Loebèr points out that the material used for the tying is not unimportant. Winding cotton around cotton is ineffectual and the binding ribbon must be of some other material that takes the dye less readily than the cotton warp. The manner in which the warp is wrapped around is decisive for the

character of the decoration. The simplest type is found on Flores, whence Prof. Max Weber in 1888 brought back bundles of yarn in various stages of "ikat". Each skein is tied round at regular intervals, and consequently uncoloured rings appear after the dyeing. That at any rate is what it looks like on the skein; when this is wound off the rings disappear and each thread is furnished with regular white dots. After the threads have been stretched on the frame of the loom they naturally come into a different order and an irregularly dotted background results—the parts that have been "reserved" from the dye have shifted their position.

The patterns in all these cases are different from those of the Iban and frequently the workmanship is less expert. Illustrations of patterns made by these techniques are given by the Dutch authors quoted and by others.

In some parts of Indonesia there is found another entirely different method of resist-dyeing, which is accomplished by applying wax to the fabric at those places where the dyeing is not desired. This highly developed *batik* technique, by which beautiful and elaborate patterns are made, is especially characteristic of Java. An analogous wax technique is used in southern China and by some Malays.

There are other methods of making patterned cloths in Indonesia, but these do not concern us here.

When Iban patterns are produced by other means than warp-tying, whether by floating shuttles, the use of more heddles or shed sticks, or by embroidery, the quality of the work is more variable and the patterns themselves differ from those characteristic of warp-tying. These technical methods may have been adopted by the Iban from other peoples, and their own patterns made by these techniques have suffered modification through these alien influences.

Among all the cloths in England examined by us, not more than 1 per cent. of the patterns are like those of the Malay peninsula or the surrounding islands. The designs on our Bornean cloths have been compared by L. E. Start with traditional Chinese and Hindu designs, with those of the hill tribes of southern China, the Shan, Kachin and Burmese printed and embroidered fabrics, as well as with the resist-dyed fabrics of Java and Sumatra. With the exception of the occasional tendency to make a fret-like completion to a design, which does not necessarily prove anything, there

seems to be no outside influence in the style of the warp-dyed patterns of the Iban. 531X 171

The motives chosen, with the exception of the crocodile, do not seem to be used by the other peoples mentioned. A strong argument against Malay influence is the predominance of animal forms, which are forbidden by Islam. The sources of the patterns themselves are all intimately connected with religious beliefs, daily life and environment of the Iban. The animals are those with which the island abounds, the plants drawn are in daily use and indigenous to Borneo, and the remaining subjects are connected with agriculture and other daily pursuits and domestic objects.

We would however refer to the ambiguous *gajah* motive (pp. 41–43), which certainly is not Bornean. It seems to us quite possible that it may be a dim relic of some higher culture that presumably had its origin in India, but we cannot pursue this conjecture further owing to lack of data. The correspondence between the spiritual personages of the Iban and those of Hinduism is discussed by the Venerable Archdeacon J. Perham (cf. Ling Roth, 1, pp. 181, 182).

It is a remarkable fact that the textile designs of the Iban women are quite distinct from the patterns carved by the Iban men on bamboo and wooden objects (see Haddon, 1903), and these are also very different from those carved by the Kayan, Kenyah, Murut and other peoples of Sarawak with whom the Iban come more or less into contact. These peoples do not practise the art of weaving to any extent and they do not make the patterns characteristic of the Iban women.

Taking all these points into consideration it seems reasonable to suggest that the traditional designs used by the Iban women in their textiles have been developed since the Iban became separated from other peoples, and thus the designs would be a native art peculiar to the Iban. 286 531X 174

It has previously been stated (pp. 1, 2) that Dr Hose dates the migration to Borneo of the ancestors of the present Iban at less than three centuries ago. We wonder whether this highly developed technique could have reached such perfection within that period of time.

It is interesting to note that in some parts of New Guinea fibre skirts are tied in various places and dyed so as to produce horizontal stripes of a dark colour on the natural colour of the fibres. Loeber (1903, footnote, p. 15) 286 386 171

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

states that he saw, in Barmen in New Guinea, petticoats which had been dyed by this manner in three colours; probably one colour was the natural colour of the fibre. This method of resist-dyeing is probably an ancient one and doubtless will be found to have a wide distribution in scattered areas.

There are other methods of resist-dyeing in Melanesia in which the finished cloth is tied so as to resist the dye. Tie-dyeing of cloth is also practised in West Africa.

It does not appear unreasonable to regard the tie-dyeing of the warp of the cloth by the Iban as a development and refinement of the similar though crude technique now seen in certain fringe-like fibre skirts elsewhere. In the British Museum a fringe on a Konyak Naga *dao* (a knife-chopper) is of goats' hair with transverse bands of red dyed by this technique.

IBAN RELIGION AND ITS EXPRESSION IN DECORATIVE ART

A brief account of the personnel of Iban religion will help towards an understanding of some of the designs shown on the cloths. This is abstracted from Perham as quoted by Ling Roth (1, pp. 168–213).

The Iban believe in an indefinite number of spiritual beings termed *Petara*; these "gods" have their several functions. Some Iban say that there is only one *Petara*, but when confronted with the references to many gods in their incantations they explain this as merely implying a unity of origin, which does not amount in their minds to a conception of a First Great Cause. An *antu*, or spirit, causes sickness or wants to kill persons and so has to be scared away, but *Petara* is regarded as saving power, the preserver of men; in extreme cases *Petara* alone can help a man; if he dies it is *Petara* alone who has allowed the life to pass away.

The moon and stars are not invoked, but they have an "invisible belonging", a *Petara*, just as all parts of the earth have. It is probable that no inanimate objects themselves, not even the sun, are supposed to be divinities; "it is an underlying spirit in them which is adored, a hidden living influence in them which effects their operations" (Ling Roth, 1, p. 201).

Three beings with definite functions occupy a peculiar position in Iban belief. (1) *Salampandai*, a female spirit and the maker of men. (2) *Pulang*

13: Perham M-5 (ca. 1885)1887
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during the night the Manangs, leading the new candidate, march him up one ladder and down the other; but what that action is supposed to symbolize, or what special virtue to confer, I have not been able to discover. To wind up this play at mysteries, the man lays himself flat on the floor, and the Manangs walk over him, and trample upon him, to knock into him, perhaps, all the Manang power which is to be obtained. This is the "Enjun." It is regarded as a certificate of medical superiority, and the Manang who has passed the ordeal will on occasions boast that he is no ordinary spirit-controller and soul-catcher, but a "Manang bangun, Manang enjun."

Women as well as men may become Manangs. In former times, I believe, all Manangs on their initiation assumed female attire for the rest of their lives; but it is rarely adopted now, at least on the coast districts; and I have only met with one such. If you ask the reason of this strange custom, the only answer forthcoming is, that the spirits or deities who first taught Dyaks the knowledge of the powers of Manangism, gave them an injunction to assume the woman's garb. It will be observed that most of the beings mentioned or invoked by Manangs are addressed as "Ini," "Grandmother," which perhaps implies that all the special deities of the Manang world are supposed to be of the female sex, and, to be consistent with this belief, it might have been deemed necessary for the Manang to assume the outward figure and the dress of his goddess.

The Malays also have their Manangs, who are called "Bayoh," while the ceremony is "Berasik;" but I believe the better instructed Mahometans consider the practice of it altogether inconsistent with the true religion of Islam.

It has been said that the *Pawang* and the *Poyang* of the Malay Peninsula, and the *Datus* and *Si Bassos* of the Battaks of Sumatra, and the medicinemen of Borneo, are all offsprings and ramifications of the Shaman priests, the wizard physician of Central Asia. The Manang of the Dyaks certainly contributes his share to the proof of the assertion. A main point

13: Perham M-5 (ca. 1885) 1887
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of the Shamanistic creed appears to have been that every object and force in nature has its "spirit," which could be invoked by the worshipper to confer things either good or bad. This entirely corresponds with Dyak religion; the Manang, in certain of his functions, calls upon the spirits of the sun and moon, the spirits in heaven and earth, spirits in trees, hills, forests, lowlands, and rivers, to come to his aid; and if they are not equal to the "300 spirits of heaven, and 600 spirits of the earth" of Shamanism, they are a goodly company which the Manang professes to bring from all quarters to the house of his patient. Again, the Shaman priest on particular occasions worked himself into an ecstasy; the Manang runs round and round, and pretends to fall in a faint, at which time his greatest power is exercised. And then the seat of the Shaman deities was placed on "the summit of the mountains of the moon," the central pivot of the earth; the special deities of the Manangs, as before mentioned, dwell on Rabong and Sintong, Mountains in Central Borneo; and when waving the sacrificial fowl, the last and best wish the Manang expresses for his patient is that he may have "dreams of Rabong and dreams of Sintong."

But in these days, in practice, the Manang answers to the idea of the Doctor, rather than to that of the Priest; for his presence is not necessarily required for any purposes except that of treating the sick. At certain great religious functions of the Dyaks, such as the sacrifice of propitiation to the earth deities for a good harvest, or the greatest of all Dyak celebrations, the sacrificial festival to Singalang Burong, or at marriages, he is not of necessity the officiant. He may possibly be; but not because he is a Manang, but because he has given his attention to that part of ancient Dyak customs, or because he has the credit of being a lucky man. Generally, other Dyaks are the ministers of the office on these occasions; the one requisite qualification being ability to chant the traditional story and invocations which accompany the offering and ceremonies. On the other hand, the fact that at his initiation he obtains a new generic name, and is believed to enter into a new rank of being, looks like the idea of succession to an ancient priesthood.

J. PERHAM.

121 different" (Samoa kami Iban, alam tiap buah rumah, sigi' lain). Once again I would emphasize that this study is of the Ibans of the Sibu District, based upon research done in urban and rural areas on a sample of houses and individuals.

104 The spelling of Iban words in this paper follows the orthography as worked out by the Inter-Church Committee on Translation. In one point I have deviated from that orthography, by indicating glottalization with the use of an apostrophe ('). While this is not necessary for native Iban speakers, it may prove helpful to non-native speakers.

[436] [171] The rate of exchange at the time of writing was slightly less than three Malaysian dollars to one American dollar.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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TABLE 7

Rice Farmers, 1960

	Persons engaged primarily in rice farming	Percentage of all rice farmers	Economically active population	Percentage economically active population in rice farming
Malay	20,220	11.9	42,975	47.1
Melanau	4,599	2.7	17,712	26.0
Land Dayak	19,878	11.7	23,498	84.6
Iban	108,889	64.2	122,701	88.7
Other indigenous	13,959	8.2	17,042	81.9
Chinese	1,734	1.0	67,171	2.6
Europeans	-----	----	769	-----
Others	387	0.2	2,417	16.0
Sarawak Totals	169,666	99.9	294,285	57.6

In the Third Division, both hill rice (padi bukit) and swamp rice (padi paya) are grown. Although some hill rice is grown in all of the Districts of the Third Division, most is it is grown in the Kapit District. In the agricultural year of 1969-1970, an estimated 77,780 acres were planted with hill rice with an average yield of 110 to 140 gantangs per acre.[40] Swamp rice is grown on the flat, lowland soils, especially in the Sibu and Mukah Districts. The average yield per acre for 1969-1970 was 250 gantangs of padi, and for those who participated in the skim padi ("Assistance to Wet-Padi Planters Scheme," initiated on a small scale in 1959 and considerably expanded under the Sarawak Development Plan,

[40] A gantang is a dry measure, containing about four kati (5 1/3 pounds) of unhusked rice (padi) or six kati (8 pounds) of husked rice (beras). Average consumption per adult male is four gantang, per female three gantang per month.

175 activity as a brave warrior and advance guard (buloh balang), and,
555 after building up a following, an outstanding career as a war leader.
624 Lintong (war-name, Moa Hari, "Cloud" or "Face of the Day"), was recognized as raja berani, as was the late Pengulu Gani Apai Engkamat of Bawang Assan.[18] The descendants of these men still enjoy prestige and deference as offspring of raja berani.

The status of the raja berani parallels in several respects that of the Melanesian "big man."[19] Like the "big man," the raja berani was verbally persuasive. Fluency and cleverness of speech (landik bejako') are valued among the Ibans, and every successful leader at whatever level is an able speaker. Though a man may possess other admirable qualities and enjoy success in farming or business, if he cannot speak convincingly, any aspirations he may have for leadership are likely to go unrewarded.[20]

Again, as with the "big man," the raja berani were highly competitive. There is both resistance to any appearance of submission and reluctance to the surrender of his independence on the part of the

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[18] Pengulu Gani's obituray appeared in the local papers, and in such foreign papers as the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette when he died in 1959.

[19] The modern Iban counterpart is the local politican.

[20] In longhouses where the tuai rumah is a poor speaker, a deputy (mandal) who is an able speaker represents him in welcoming guests and in helping to handle disputes.

611 of both sexes. Descent may be traced through males in one generation and females in the next, ties with ancestral members of either sex being reference points for definition of contemporary relationships.

592 We have noted in the last chapter the mobility of members of the Iban bilik-family, to which members may attach themselves as they need, or detach themselves when more advantageous opportunities are found. For example, Mayah's son, Noel, returned with his family to his mother's bilik when unemployed, and left again when he took up a new position in

611 Sibu. Through the practice of ambilineal descent, the Iban allow for flexibility in organization, and the movement of members between units of the society. This structural plasticity is important and is a means by which kinship and kin-terms are extended to non-kinsmen, while real kinsmen are dropped when they no longer participate in the activities of the group.[1]

602 Through this structural plasticity, affines and even non-kinsmen
608 of other ethnic groups are assimilated to the kin-group through common residence and participation in socioeconomic and ritual activities. For example, Ili (Bilik No. 30) and Geranding (Bilik No. 33) of Rumah Nyala, are Melanau and Memaloh, respectively. In discussing relations in Rumah

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[171] [1]The aphorism of the Yakan of the Philippines, "When i. sight, a kinsman; out of sight, discarded trash," has its parallel in the Iban expression, Jauh di mata, jauh di ati (Far from sight, far from heart).

construction of the road near their house for fear that it would make their longhouse angat ("hot, unhealthy") because new. Reluctantly, the engineers rerouted the road at a distance of one hour's walk from the house. After the road had been completed, the members of Rumah Buda realized the benefits offered by the road: regular transportation to Sibu, greater availability of Government services and goods, and opportunities for more contact with friends and relatives. Consequently, they have abandoned the old longhouse and are building small, individual house along the roadside.[3]

A final factor in the permanence of longhouse settlements is related to the amount of money, time and labor invested in the house's construction. Historically, Iban longhouses were not as sturdily constructed as the houses of other indigenous groups, such as the Kayans. The Iban longhouses were constructed of ironwood posts but flooring, walls and roofing was of less durable materials. The reason offered by the Iban, Anyau Bakit, was that the Iban never expected to occupy the house for more than five or six years before moving on to fell and farm other virgin

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[3]The forcible blocking of the original route was related in a lament by Pengulu Meringgai who reckoned that he lost about M$50,000 due to the rerouting. According to the old plan, the road would have gone through fifty acres of his land, the price of which would have risen to M$1,000 per acre. As it turned out, he, too, had to move in order to live closer to the road.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
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IBANS IN TOWN

A. Commuters and Residents

171 In recent years the proportion of indigenes in virtually all the Southeast Asian cities and provincial towns has increased. In most instances this reflects the increasing movement of indigenes to the urban areas rather than the decline of alien groups, such as Chinese, Indians and Europeans. The factors involved in such in-migration vary from case to case, and the intensity and frequency of interaction between members of the same and different ethnic groups show a considerable range. From available data, one factor that predominates in the in-migration of indigenes is the quest for employment and wages. The interaction between members of the same and different ethnic groups range from what may be described as minimal contacts in some situations to high intensity and
128 frequency to others. In this chapter, we shall examine the factors relating to the in-migration of Ibans to the Sibu pasar, and through the use of biographical accounts examine the patterns of interaction that have emerged.

Within the past decade the Iban population in the Sibu pasar and